1:Du Bois .E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

of the children themselves are also of interest here. Certain points may 854
be made in connection with the sleeping habits and any disturbances 864
the child might be supposed to feel at being displaced by the father. First, the child's dependency on the mother is less marked than in our culture; second, the child is given genital satisfaction through deliberate masturbation. One of the favorite substitutes for offering the breast in an effort to pacify a child is to massage its genitals gently. [903] It was my impression that this device for pacifying children was used even more by siblings than by adults. If the observation is correct, the explanation may be found in two factors: First, the sibling acting as mother-surrogate cannot pacify the child by offering it food, and second, the young sibling may have fewer occasions to express sex interest than the adult.

No effort is made during infancy to teach the child to talk. Although 868
an adult may sing dance songs to soothe it, there is no deliberate attempt to impart verbal training. At most, the only talking I have seen an adult direct toward a child is the repetition of its name.

Toilet training, too, is completely disregarded during the prewalking 863
period. Adults exhibit no anger or disgust when a child soils the carrying shawl or the body of the person caring for it. The caretaker cleans up after the child with the most casual matter-of-factness, wiping off its buttocks with a bit of leaf, a corn husk, or a bamboo sliver.

Nor is walking urged on the child. Crawling is confined to the rela- 868
tively rare periods when the child is seated on the verandah or in the living room instead of being in a carrying shawl. Naturally, as the child gets older more of this freedom is allowed it, and one sometimes sees a prewalking baby crawling about either in a sitting position with one leg under it or raised up on all fours. I do not recall ever seeing a child crawl on hands and knees. When the child of its own volition begins to stand, it most commonly pulls itself upright holding onto the leg of some near-by adult. Padafan, a child whose development I was able to watch with some consistency, definitely learned to stand by pulling himself up on his mother's leg in an effort to get her attention so that she would pick him up and nurse him.

When a youngster begins trying to stand, any adult may play with it and assist it in its efforts at walking, but for both the adult and the child this is a play activity involving neither consistency nor rewards and punishments. Thus his first mastery technique does not depend exclusively upon the assistance of a parent. For about eight children whose 856
ages I could determine with some accuracy walking began not much later than it does with us, which is from the twelfth to the eighteenth

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

[335] [513] to replenish the fire and tell his dream to the household. Often a pot is placed on the fire for a midnight snack at this time.

There is also a good deal of movement in the village at night. Men have been out discussing finance; boys have been out courting, and when they return there is inevitably a certain amount of disturbance. [538] There are also the night dances, which average one every eight days throughout the year, and during the dry season from June through October may average as many as one every five or six nights. Many [151] children even of five years or less are taken to these dances and they snatch what sleep they can.

Those who can be left at home in someone's care must sleep less soundly because of the coming and going and the sound of singing all night. It is a common sight to see children taking cat naps at all times. Sometimes they lean back between the legs or against the side of a seated parent who is chatting with guests. Often they crawl off under the eaves with small companions and doze for a time, only to wake up and rejoin the adults. Toddlers learn to sleep anytime and anywhere except on the ground, which they already know is taboo. Children barely two or three years old are often seen sleeping quite alone on a verandah during the day. Their rest even more than their food is a matter of small concern and casual attention from adults.

TALKING

● [68] Satisfactory information on talking is scant. When crying for attention most children of one or two years will intersperse their cries with rhythmic wails that sound as though they were trying to say, [176] "Mother, mother, alack, alas (*nise, nise, adiye, adiye*)," which is the formalized type of wailing used by adults, especially women, in connection with deaths and catastrophes. These words are used also as general expressions of consternation. In terms of adult psychology, it is interesting that the cry of distress should, by formalization, be directed to the mother.

Another word that is learned very early is the imperative for *give* (*mo*). Children who are just beginning to walk can be seen holding out their hands, usually in the direction of food, and saying "Mo!" over and over again. There is little doubt that children from two to four years are in command of sufficient vocabulary to make their wishes known. Under the stimulus of rage even five-year-olds are quite fluent [195] [168] in their use of imprecations. One little boy whose aunt was trying to [176] make him carry a basket to his mother when he was more interested in playing, turned on her and said, "Evil spirit, evil spirit! May you have

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

dysentery; may you have smallpox!" (*Kari berka, kari berka! Asi berka, tapaka berka!*) Quite apart from the fluency this implies, it was a singularly bad bit of cursing, since both are particularly dreaded diseases. To make matters worse his grandfather had just died of dysentery and everyone in the household was afraid of the ghost. [195] [865]

My evidence for early speech is confined largely to imprecations during temper tantrums, since in most other respects small children were quite shy in attempting to talk. They were to be seen occasionally addressing a few words quietly to an age-mate or asking an older person for something. There was no direct speech training given by adults. In fact, there was a definite pattern of ridiculing the mistakes of children and teasing them about such errors. Children have to pick up speech through the absorptive processes of hearing older people talk and having instructions addressed to them.

DISCIPLINE

This brings us to another element that enters in early childhood and may continue through the entire life of the less assertive adults, especially women. As soon as a child can toddle about and understand commands, it may be sent on errands and ordered by any adult to give small services. In early childhood such services consist of little more than fetching and carrying things at hand. There is no equivalent of *please* or *thank you* in the Abui language, and the tone of voice in which such services are requested is clearly peremptory. As the anecdotes just told in connection with talking indicates, children soon learn to rebel. Demands and modes of escape are more clearly developed in late childhood (see Chapter 5), but pressure and resistance are established early. [857] [865]

Since the Alorese have few sacred objects, commands are not loaded with prohibitions. Not all houses contain an ancestral hearth or other sacred objects that children are supposed to avoid. There is little feeling of sacredness attached to any paraphernalia, and taboo restrictions are few and casually observed, so that no heavy burden of learning along these lines is placed on small children. Already at this stage children are not so much debarred from adult activity as given no role in it. This means that such learning as goes on is largely in terms of restrictive discipline and absorption, rather than permissive discipline or deliberate training. [858] [861]

The preceding paragraphs adumbrate the system of shame, ridicule, and teasing that older children and adults use in dealing with their juniors. For instance, it was quite common when children were crying, for mothers to say, "Shame. Don't you see So-and-so is here and sees [861] [865]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

the result that the young child can never establish a clear image of punishment for "being bad" or reward for "being good." It is just as likely as not to be rewarded for the "badness" of excessive crying.

TANTRUMS

From even such a brief description any child psychologist should be able to prognosticate one of the outstanding and striking forms of emotional expression in the early childhood of the Atimelanger—the temper tantrum. Rages are so consistent, so widespread, and of such long duration among young children that they were one of my first and most striking observations. A common cause of tantrums is desertion—more specifically the departure of the mother for the fields each morning.

For instance, one child, a little boy of approximately two years who was under observation over a period of nine months, had a violent rage every morning when his mother left. His paroxysms lasted from a few minutes to as many as twenty. He would begin by pursuing his mother; then as she outstripped him he would throw himself on the ground, roll back and forth, and often beat his head on the earth. His mother's reaction was typical in its inconsistency. On successive days I have noted her ignore him, return to comfort him, return to slap him, and return pretending to stay for the day, only to slip away when he had been diverted.

Very rarely is a reward for being good promised a child, and more rarely still is the promise kept. This means that children do not learn to place confidence in words. This, in turn, should slow down the learning process by reducing the use of language as a short cut to incentive and performance. Later in life, when the children are capable of performing real services, they are rewarded more frequently, but by then the reward is in the nature of an economic transaction and one in which the child has no bargaining power.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties of the person on whom the child depends for its gratifications, is found in a series of statements taken from Tilapeda's autobiography. The naïve implications of her account of caring for Maliama, a younger sister, are perhaps more telling than the statements themselves.

"On the way [to the fields] Maliama cried a lot, so I put her down and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she was quiet. . . . When Maliama was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I was not angry with her, I would take her along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

855 small ones. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
865 cried to go places, she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry."

855 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
861 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
155 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child may be placated and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

855 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
865 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable rages may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my attention, although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or apparently hungry. The tantrums usually disappear before the child is five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages of seven and nine still had acute rages whenever they found themselves deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the evening meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of amused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
● 848 who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sudden surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few cases of constructive teaching, outside of purely physiological controls, that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
586 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
159 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Talfani, for instance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

of the less desirable portions of the animal to roast on the spot. Rat [224]
hunting, in which a group of boys assist grown men, is another source §55
of food. The rats are often roasted in the fields where they are caught, §57
and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less desirable [262]
parts. It is noteworthy that there is no institutionalized recognition of a boy's first success in hunting, as there is among many peoples. If a boy is praised at all for his successes, it is only because an indulgent adult happens to take notice of them. In any event, the procuring of the day's food is as precarious and inconsistent as the administering of discipline. Furthermore, the food secured is of the less choice kind, a factor [155]
which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child a feeling of being undervalued. It is certainly not without significance that in an autobiography like Malelaka's, where he frequently stresses the good treatment he received as a child, good treatment meant being given food. It indicates that feeding is not something a child expects as a matter of course.

There is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is §57
neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers and have more demands made upon them in terms of their adult role as providers for the family. Weaving baskets, sewing pandanus mats, and making bark cloth are additional skills deliberately [168]
taught girls at this time by their mothers. I knew only one woman, an orphan, who did not know how to make baskets. Interestingly enough, many boys also pick up these skills to a minor degree, but without deliberate instruction.

Girls frequently go out to the fields to work with their mothers or §55
with companions. Also, women are responsible for harvesting and pre- §57
paring food. By the time a little girl is nine or ten years old, she can 153
cook for the ordinary family needs. She therefore has more regular access to food. I know of no instances in which little girls were guilty of pilfering from gardens, although accusations to this effect were sometimes leveled at them. Such charges, on the other hand, gave rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. This does not mean, of course, that adult women do not steal, but one might expect a higher frequency of thefts by men than by women. Out of twenty-four theft anecdotes [165]
twenty-one apply to men. In the autobiographies there are eighteen identifiable cases of theft; sixteen of these were reported by the men.

Although a girl has more regular access to food she does not have §55
the guest privileges of the small boy. She gets no presents during butch- 568
ering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to remember her and give her a bit of meat. The meat at feasts is always

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

567 When Semmani heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave
627 her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider
685 her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head
766 as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungwati, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

593 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the par-
567 ents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

868 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at him in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

869 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire
855 their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the
775 speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never
[753] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

869 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits
775 of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

people must abstain from seafoods, and she conversed with ghosts who knew all that had happened. She was assured and autocratic in all she did. She even scolded one of the most influential men of the community, who chanced to be a distant kinsman, for delaying the first feast in connection with the erection of his lineage house. Her tone toward other children was as peremptory as that of adults toward children.

Many details of this anecdote are omitted here since they belong more properly to a discussion of religion, which must await later publication. The episode serves here as a rare, but not unique, instance of singular status achieved by a small child. It demonstrates that even children, to whom the society accords no very high position, may develop devices for wielding power.

CONCLUSIONS

This period of late childhood, when children are referred to as *moku*, is characterized by the disappearance of temper tantrums and the child's acquisition of devices for taking care of itself in its environment. It is also the time when the discipline foreshadowed in early childhood assumes its harshest forms. The restrictive aspects of this discipline range from teasing and ridicule involving shame to actual physical violence or threats of violence. For boys there is very little constructive training for their adult roles, except as their somewhat privileged position in comparison with girls permits them greater opportunity and furnishes them greater incentives for absorptive disciplines.

Because boys must search for their food they learn incidentally a great deal about the society in which they live. Girls, on the other hand, are deliberately trained in the food quest and the role they must play as providers.

Girls have a less privileged position but more consistent training and constructive participation in the activities of women. That they may resent their status as women is perhaps indicated by the fact that some of the growing girls assume male roles in play. Both sexes have the same experience with inconsistency in adult behavior toward them. Both learn to assert themselves by running off, by seeking the protection of other kin, and by vigorous and often violent resistance. In certain realms at least, both sexes must acquire a feeling of their undervalued position, although they can depend on the existence of adult kin in litigations and in sacrifices to placate the dead or malignant spirits.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Even though there are these numerous traumata in connection with feeding, weaning is not traumatic. But the readiness with which children suck at objects which resemble breasts is a further indication of the effects of poor maternal care. A child free of hunger tensions can expand the character of its contacts with the mother, and once she becomes a dependable object the child has a reliable buffer against the outer world. If this buffer is absent, nothing but anxiety and inhibitions can result. This shows itself chiefly as a lack of interest both in the outer world and in those ego components through which mastery of it is effected.

Two additional features must be mentioned. First, the mother does not find the feeding of the child particularly pleasurable. This is very likely to be the case when the mother herself has been through the experience that she now imposes on the child. A second point is that in many of the illnesses which the child suffers at this time, it is the father who is blamed for having broken a taboo or one of the abstinences imposed upon him during the early life of the child. In this way the mother escapes a blame which she undoubtedly feels.

The fact that mothers occasionally masturbate their children while feeding them is no commentary on their sex morality but on the fact that the masturbatic activity is used as a palliative; and it is very likely that sexual gratification thus becomes very early in life established as a means of placating the child for frustrations suffered in other directions.

With regard to training the child to walk and talk, little deliberate effort is made. From comparisons with children in our society one can safely deduce the fact that the child is subject to a continuous series of frustrations in its efforts to establish some mastery over the world. This means also that positive and enterprising attitudes toward the world are not developed, for failures foster inhibitions.

While the child is thus not encouraged to strong ego formation in early childhood, there is an extenuating circumstance in the fact that it is not subjected to discipline which it cannot understand. There is a conspicuous absence of restrictive discipline, particularly in connection with anal training. Here it may be noted that the Alorese seem to have no buttock erotic sensitivity or consciousness. This zone is seemingly devoid of significance—nor is it used in punishing children, as is the case in our society. Anal training seems to be synchronous with growth and is taught mainly by example. Hence these activities cannot contribute very much to the formation of the ego ideal.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Once my mother went to dig tubers. She returned in the evening 159[x]
and cooked them. She was angry with me and hit me. I ran away and
didn't want to sleep in the house. I climbed a mango tree and wanted to
sleep there. Then Kolang, the mother of my friend Kolata, spoke to
her daughter and said, "You are two girls, so go call your sister to come
sleep with you." Kolata came to the mango tree and called to me, say-
ing, "Your mother has hit you and you have run away to sleep in a
mango tree, but come instead and sleep with me. You can't sleep in
a tree." So I came down and slept with her in her house. Mother didn't
call me to come home and eat. She didn't save food for me. She just
said, "Oh, she has run away." Early the next morning mother came and
spoke nicely to me, saying, "I have cooked, so come eat." I went home
and mother said, "I don't have boys. You are all girls. Other people
have boys. If you go to other people's houses and their boys bring [867]
home rats or their men bring home meat, you stare at it and that isn't
nice. Maybe they don't say anything, but maybe in their hearts they are
angry. You must not go to other people's houses." Then she gave me a
tuber to eat. [She had omitted telling why her mother was angry with
her. I asked why.] When mother brought the tubers home, I wanted to
take one and roast it right away for myself, but mother said, "You
aren't the only one. There are your siblings. You must all eat together
and share them." I said, "If that is so, I don't want to eat." I went out-
side and sat by myself. When mother called I didn't come. Mother was
angry and came to me and struck me.

[The informant looked like a hurt child at this point. I asked if she had had to work hard in the fields as a child or if other siblings had done the work.]

When I was still small, my mother gave me part of a knife blade
with which to cut weeds. I worked in the early morning, and then I
saw my friends playing. I threw down the blade near mother and went
off to play. [I asked whether she or Kawaimani did more garden
work.] Kawaimani worked more. Mother and Kawaimani would cook
for me before leaving and then go off together to work. They let me 159[x]
play while they worked in the fields. [I asked if she disliked garden 868
work or didn't get on well with her sister and mother.] No, when I
wanted to work, I just cut off the tops of the weeds and didn't do it
well, so mother said, "Oh, you don't know how, so you had better
fetch wood and go off to play. I and Kawaimani will cut the field."
[Now you know garden work. How did you learn?] When I first
went to cut weeds with mother, I just cut the tops and in one small

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

X159 place. Mother saw that I had cut some and others I had left, so she
0868 didn't want me to work. Then I watched mother and saw that she cut right down into the roots. The second day when I tried, I cleared the spot and cut two large heaps of weeds. The next time I cut three or four heaps of weeds. Then mother said that by and by I would be clever. Finally mother divided the field between us, and we could each cut a part.

X159 When I knew a bit how to cut weeds, Kolang, Kolata's mother, said, "You two can both cut fields now, so you two work alternately in each other's gardens." Then Kolata took pots, plates, and food and we went to her garden. She said I was to cut weeds and she would cook for me. So I worked, and at midday she called me to eat. Then we went to play swing. When we saw the sun going down we worked a little more and in the evening went back to our houses. The next day I took pots, plates, and food and cooked while Kolata worked in my garden. At midday I called her to eat. Then we swung, and when the sun was going down we worked a bit more in the field and then went home in the evening.

[Was Kolata the same age?] Yes. Her mother gave birth to her three days after my mother bore me. [I asked which of the two friends married first.] I did. [Whom did Kolata marry?] First Padukafali gave the chief of Atimelang [her brother] a Maningmuuk moko for her, but Kolata said she would not marry him, and they did not sleep together. Then she married Padalang. When Padalang wanted to sleep with her, she didn't want to. One day Padalang went off and he saw an evil spirit that looked like Kolata. She [the evil spirit] called to him to cut wood and tie it up for her to carry home. Then Padalang went up the hill and slept with this woman. After he had had intercourse, he cut and tied the wood. He called for her to come and carry it, but the woman had disappeared. That evening when he came home he had a headache. In the night he couldn't talk any more, and just before dawn he died. So his moko was given back. After that Padamai married Kolata. Kolata said, "My two older brothers [the chief of Atimelang and Atamai] are
[581] always fighting with my mother, so I want to marry a man who is an orphan, who will come home and live with me and my mother and be a son to her." So she married Padamai, who was an orphan. He went to her mother, built a house, and lived there.

[How did Kolata die?] She and Padamai went to Yefain near Lawatika to make a garden. They built a nice large field house there. One day Kolata was working in the garden when a kalatap bird came and

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OFS Alor OFS

The inconsistent and restrictive quality of discipline which pervades the child's life might well be expected to breed in it a sense of insecurity and suspicious distrust. It has at its disposal only one weapon with which to meet frustration and that is rage. The alternative idea of being good in order to gain one's ends is not presented to the child. But that rage is an ineffectual weapon is learned at very least during the first decade of life.

While the child is discovering the futility of protest, he is also discovering his own resources. He may expect his mother to prepare a morning meal at about seven o'clock and another at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself. He learns this from five or six onward in the field play groups of free roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot. A variety of insects variously spurned by adults can be found. In the fields near the village are mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and squash. They can be eaten raw or easily cooked. As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children or their playmates, but if the raiding is too constant or if the crop is scarce, children may be scolded for it. Such objections are most apt to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their labor might be expected and is not forthcoming. There are several anecdotes of supernaturals on this score, and in one instance a mother and half-grown son came to blows over the matter. But an additional factor in adult objections to children eating garden crops too freely is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Ishmagum, in his autobiography, gives several such anecdotes, one of which is quoted below.

Mintimale said, "Let us go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." My mother and father were away and I was hungry. For a month we played together going every day to dig sweet potatoes. But his mother was angry because we went to her garden to dig them. So after that fate day we always went to my garden to dig them. Then my potatoes were finished. I was angry because we always went to my garden. I said to him, "You have lots of potatoes but we only went once to your garden and your mother was angry. Now you have many and you can't come to dig mine any more." I splashed water on him. Mintimale said we would not play together any more.

Parental objections also pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. The whole system of feeding residences one of the earliest conventional sessions centering on theft and fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When an adult man visits a house in which a woman is at home, it is customary to set a calabash of food before him and any little boys who are about are invited to join him. Little boys very soon learn to attach themselves to any man who seems to be setting out on a "business" trip and in this way undoubtedly learn a great deal of the role expected of them as adults. Hunger is a motivation which leads to the acquisition of adult male skills. Little girls are not fed on these occasions, except rarely when they pick up a bit of food on the side while it is being prepared. There are still other sources of food available to small boys. During feasts those who help with the butchering are given the entrails or other less desirable bits of the pig to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which several boys assist a grown man or two, is another

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OFS Also OFS

source of food. The rats are often roasted on the spot, and the children are given the kidneys, entrails, and other less choice portions of the kill. In any event the day's food is so promptly and unanimously procured as discipline is concerned. Further, the food secured is the low choice kind which may, in conjunction with many other contraries, help to produce in the child, the feeling of being undervalued.

As compared with this free play group period for boys, there is a slightly different situation for girls. Their play period is neither as long nor as free. They are more closely restricted to their mothers, have more rigorous training in their adult role as providers for the family. They go out to work in the fields with their mothers and have therefore more regular access to food. I know of no cases in which little girls have been accused of pilfering from gardens, whereas such charges give rise to frequent if minor fractions with boys. On the other hand a girl does not have the great privilege of the small boy. She gets no ridicule during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to notice her on the edge of the group and gives her a bit of meat. Similarly, the meat or fruits is always distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their households. They do, women get meat for their husbands and sons, but not for themselves or their daughters. Since food is taken home and eaten there, the women naturally get a share, but only as dependents of men. Also, since meat is eaten only in connection with a feast and is definitely a "feast," it becomes set in the children's minds as a symbol of masculine prestige. This connection with theories of property which grant men the ownership of all flesh food as opposed to women who own the vegetable foods. The system of meat distribution at feasts helps to reinforce early in life and on a very basic level the role of masculine prestige in the culture. It is not that men are the providers, in fact they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for, yet they are the purveyors of a delicacy.

The girl, then is not during the preadolescent years in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle which she will follow all her life. Partial, she has more opportunity and childhood training than boys in the role of adult caterer. There is no sharp break in her life except the change of residence at marriage. It is significant that only after marriage is she allowed to make, independently of her mother, a food contribution to a feast. Pubic food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

Boys find themselves undervalued in comparison to men. Girls are valued in much the same terms as the adult women. Their role will always be somewhat underprivileged, but at least they do not experience the same marked discrepancy between childhood and the adult role expected of them as the boys do. The adolescent boy has a sudden adjustment to make and there are no crisis rites, no initiations nor secrets to help him. His change is not institutionalized or dramatized, and certainly he gets no direct education in it. As about fifteen he begins to premier the pantheon of a male and then secrets centering upon the adult complex become general gossip which is the men's chief labor and honorific occupation. In the course of a few months he drifts away from the play groups, becomes a much more solitary figure, and interestingly enough often hunts at this time on a solitary ward, even if he must seek for himself